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DOCUMENTS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

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March 1955

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FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING 1955

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COMMUNIQUE ON THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

Issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on April 4, 1955

A National Conference of the Communist Party of China was convened by the Central Committee of the Party from March 21 to 31. It was attended by 62 members and alternate members of the Central Committee and 257 representatives elected by Party organizations throughout the country.

The agenda of the Party conference included the following three items: (1) the First Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy and a report on this plan; (2) a report on the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih; and (3) the establishment of central and local control committees of the Party.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, delivered the opening speech on the first day of the conference. Comrade Chen Yun, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, made a report, on behalf of the Central Committee, on the First Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy, and Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, member of the Central Committee, made a report, on behalf of the Central Committee, on the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih.

A keen discussion followed these two reports. In

addition to group discussions, there were eight days of discussion at the plenary meetings at which one hundred people spoke. Important speeches were made by Comrades Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Chen Yun, Kang Sheng, Peng Chen, Tung Pi-wu, Lin Po-chu, Chang Wen-tien and Peng Teh-huai, members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. During the discussions, a great many constructive opinions were put forward concerning the work of the Party and of the state, and many defects in the work were disclosed. Carried out in a full spirit of criticism and self-criticism, the entire conference showed, in an ever more striking manner, the unanimity of views which exists throughout the Party. And as a result the solidarity and unity of the Party is greater than at any previous time. All the comrades who spoke fully agreed with the reports of Comrades Chen Yun and Teng Hsiao-ping. On the Draft First Five-Year Plan, the speakers were unanimous in recognizing that, taking into account the successes and experiences gained in work during the past two years and the situation in the various areas and departments, it was a great and practicable plan; and the entire Party should unite the people of all nationalities in the country, work with care and industry, overcome difficulties, exert every effort to increase production and practise strict economy in a struggle to fulfil and overfulfil this plan. On the question of the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, the speakers exposed the various crimes of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih against the Party and the people. They all advocated their expulsion from the Party and described the struggle against the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih as a historic victory of the Party.

On the last day, the conference unanimously passed a resolution on the Draft First Five-Year Plan

for Development of the National Economy of the People's Republic of China; a resolution on the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih; and a resolution on the establishment of central and local control committees of the Party; and, on the basis of the last resolution, elected a Central Control Committee with Comrade Tung Pi-wu as secretary.

At its Fifth Plenary Session on April 4, the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China approved the three resolutions passed by the National Conference of the Communist Party of China and the composition of the Central Control Committee of the Party elected by the conference. The Fifth Plenary Session of the Central Committee entrusted the Political Bureau of the Central Committee to make appropriate revisions, on the basis of the discussion in the National Conference of the Party, to the Draft First Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy of the People's Republic of China, and then to submit this to the second session of the First National People's Congress for examination and adoption.

In addition, the Fifth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee co-opted Comrades Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping into the Political Bureau of the Central Committee.

RESOLUTION ON THE DRAFT FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Passed by the National Conference of the Communist Party of China on March 31, 1955

The National Conference of the Communist Party of China agrees to the contents of the Draft First Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy of the People's Republic of China submitted by the Central Committee and the report on the First Five-Year Plan made by Comrade Chen Yun on behalf of the Central Committee. The National Conference considers that this plan is an important step towards the carrying out of the general line of the Party during the transition period. Comrades throughout the Party should, under the guidance of the Central Committee, rally the masses of all nationalities in the country, work carefully and diligently to overcome difficulties, exert every effort to increase production and practise strict economy in an effort to fulfil and overfulfil this plan.

The National Conference proposes that the Central Committee make the necessary revisions in the Draft Five-Year Plan on the basis of the opinions expressed at this conference, and, after making them, submit it to the second session of the First National People's Congress for examination and adoption.

RESOLUTION ON THE ANTI-PARTY BLOC OF KAO KANG AND JAO SHU-SHIH

Passed by the National Conference of the Communist Party of China on March 31, 1955

The National Conference of the Communist Party of China heard a report by Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping, on behalf of the Central Committee, concerning the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, and unanimously expressed support for the measures taken by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee after the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee in regard to this question.

Kao Kang's anti-Party activities had a fairly long history. The facts brought to light before and after the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party held in February 1954 proved that, from 1949 on, Kao Kang carried on conspiratorial activities aimed at seizing leadership in the Party and the state. In Northeast China and other places, he created and spread many rumours slandering the Central Committee of the Party and lauding himself, with the aim of sowing discord and dissension among the comrades and stirring up dissatisfaction with the leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Party; he thus carried on activities to split the Party and, in the course of these activities, formed his own anti-Party faction. In their work in the northeast area, the anti-Party faction formed by Kao Kang violated the policy of the Central Committee of the Party, tried

its utmost to belittle the role of the Party, and to undermine solidarity and unity in the Party, regarding the northeast area as the independent kingdom of Kao Kang. After Kao Kang was transferred to work in the central organs in 1953, his anti-Party activities became even more outrageous. He even tried to instigate Party members in the army to support his conspiracy against the Central Committee of the Party. For this purpose he invented the utterly absurd "theory" that our Party consisted of two parties—one, the so-called "Party of the revolutionary bases and the army," the other, the so-called "Party of the white areas"—and that the Party was created by the army. He himself claimed to be the representative of the so-called "Party of the revolutionary bases and the army" and thus entitled to hold the major authority, and advocated that both the Central Committee of the Party and the government should be reorganized in accordance with his plan, and that he himself should be for the time being general secretary or vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the Party and Premier of the State Council. After a serious warning was given to the anti-Party elements by the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party, Kao Kang not only did not admit his guilt to the Party, but committed suicide as an ultimate expression of his betrayal of the Party.

Jao Shu-shih was Kao Kang's chief ally in his conspiratorial activities against the Party. It has been fully established that in the ten years between 1943 and 1953 Jao Shu-shih resorted on many occasions to shameless deceit in the Party to seize power. During his tenure of office in East China, he did his utmost to adopt in the cities and countryside a Rightist policy of surrender to the capitalists, landlords and rich peasants. At the same time, he did everything pos-

sible to protect counter-revolutionaries in defiance of the Central Committee's policy of suppressing them. After his transfer to the Party Centre in 1953, Jao Shu-shih thought that Kao Kang was on the point of success in his activities aimed at seizing power in the Central Committee. Therefore, he formed an anti-Party bloc with Kao Kang and used his office as Director of the Organization Department of the Central Committee to start a struggle with the aim of opposing leading members of the Central Committee, and thus actively carried out activities to split the Party. From the time of the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party up to the present, Jao Shu-shih has never shown any signs of repentance, and still persists in an attitude of attacking the Party.

The conspiratorial activities of the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih and the fact that they came to a head in 1953—the first year of the First Five-Year Plan of our country's socialist construction—have not been fortuitous. They have deep historical and social roots. The activities of the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih are a reflection of the growing complexity and sharpness of the class struggle in China. On the one hand, the founding and growth of the People's Republic of China aroused the extreme hostility of imperialism, in the first place American imperialism; the American imperialists continue to occupy China's territory of Taiwan and are actively using Taiwan and other military bases to carry out subversive activities and prepare for a war of aggression against China. On the other hand, with the advance of the cause of socialism in our country, the remnants of counter-revolution and the reactionary bourgeois elements who are firmly opposed to the socialist transformation of our country, are accelerating

their conspiracies for a restoration of counter-revolutionary rule. Our enemies, however, are well aware that the Communist Party of China enjoys immense prestige among the working people of China and is the guiding force in our country. They know that so long as the Communist Party of China persists in the cause of socialism with monolithic unity, any enemy attack will inevitably meet with complete failure. The enemy will therefore use a thousand tricks to try to destroy our Party, and his greatest hope is that the Communist Party of China might split and degenerate. This is a truth of which all members of the Communist Party who have any revolutionary political sense and all patriots outside the Party are aware. It is precisely in this situation that Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih and others formed their anti-Party bloc and launched an attack against the Central Committee of the Party, and first of all against its Political Bureau, in an attempt to overthrow the long-tested nucleus of leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung so as to seize leadership of the Party and the state. Their anti-Party activities undoubtedly conformed to the wishes of the imperialists and bourgeois counter-revolutionaries. In fact they became agents of the bourgeoisie within our Party.

The characteristic of the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih was the fact that they never openly put forward any programme against the Central Committee of the Party in any Party organization or at any Party meeting or among the public. Their only programme was to seize supreme power in the Party and the state by conspiratorial means. They did their utmost to cover up their true character before the Party organizations and Party meetings, and changed their methods at different times and under

different circumstances while carrying out their conspiratorial activities. Theirs was an unprincipled conspiratorial group which arose within the Party under the particular circumstances of class struggle at the present time and which was aimed at usurping the leadership of the Party and the state.

The National Conference of the Communist Party of China unanimously decides to expel from the Party Kao Kang, ringleader of the anti-Party conspiracy and incorrigible renegade, and Jao Shu-shih, another ringleader of the anti-Party conspiracy, and to remove them from all posts they held within and outside the Party.

The National Conference of the Communist Party of China considers correct the measures taken by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party in the cases of Comrades Hsiang Ming, Chang Hsiu-shan, Chang Ming-yuan, Chao Teh-tsun, Ma Hung, Kuo Feng, and Chen Po-tsun who took part in the activities of the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih.

The National Conference of the Communist Party of China points out with satisfaction that the solidarity and unity of the Party as a whole have been strengthened following the exposure and halting of the conspiratorial activities of the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih and the relaying of this fact together with the resolution of the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party to Party organizations of all levels throughout the country, by the Central Committee of the Party. The anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih has been completely crushed. This is one of the decisive victories of the Party in leading the struggle for the cause of socialism in China and in the whole course of the Party's development.

It must at the same time be pointed out that the struggle to consolidate the solidarity and unity of the Party, and to uncover and smash in time the activities of alien class elements to corrupt and split the Party, is a long-term one. So long as the class struggle continues to exist domestically and internationally, class enemies will not stop trying to sway unstable and unreliable elements in our Party, and there are apt to be unstable and unreliable elements in our Party who will come under their influence. Incidents similar to that of the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih may occur in the future. Therefore, it is not only a task of the Party in the present period, but also the long-term task of the entire Party, to carry out firmly the various decisions of the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party on strengthening Party solidarity, consolidating Party unity, and opposing any statements or acts endangering the Party's solidarity and unity.

The struggle against the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih is a strong demonstration that the Party must firmly carry out the principle of collective leadership, firmly promote inner-Party democracy, and strengthen criticism and self-criticism within the Party. Party organizations at all levels must continue to fight against tendencies towards personal dictatorship and factionalism which undermine the principle of collective leadership, against manifestations of the suppression of inner-Party democracy and criticism, and against conceit, self-complacency and tendencies towards the worship of individuals. All these tendencies, which run counter to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, inevitably lead to the demoralization and degeneration of Party members, and create breaches for conspiratorial elements to exploit. For this reason, the Party absolutely can-

not allow these vicious tendencies to remain anywhere in its ranks.

The struggle against the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih proves once again that the Party must maintain strict, constant, systematic supervision both from above and below of every area, department, and Party worker. Such supervision can help Party members discover and rectify their mistakes in time. Without such supervision, even a good Party member can commit grave errors and even degenerate. Therefore, the central and local Party organizations should promptly set up or perfect examination and inspection systems of different kinds and must also coordinate their personnel work with the task of inspecting the actual work of cadres. Therefore the central and local Party organizations should immediately set up control committees, to replace the present discipline inspection committees of the Party, so as to fight constantly, determinedly and with great vigour against acts by Party members which violate the Party constitution and discipline or the laws and decrees of the state.

The struggle against the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih proves the great significance of the ideological and political work of the Party. The individualist ideology of the capitalist class, its political tricks and its way of life are dangerous weapons used by the class enemy to corrupt the revolutionary ranks. Any slackening of the struggle against these things is bound to bring grave and evil consequences to the cause of the Party and the people. The Party must systematically launch criticism against capitalist ideology among Party members, intellectuals and the mass of the people. It should also take effective measures to ensure that the mass of Party members, and in particular Party members holding high positions,

receive within a few years a basic education in Marxism-Leninism, in order to consolidate the unity of the Party ideologically, to heighten the understanding of the mass of Party members and of the people and sharpen their political vigilance against the imperialist encirclement and the inroads made by the capitalist class, and to assure continuing victories of the cause of socialism.

RESOLUTION ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CENTRAL AND LOCAL CONTROL COMMITTEES OF THE PARTY

Passed by the National Conference of the Communist Party of China on March 31, 1955

(1) The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in November 1949 issued a decision concerning the establishment of the Party's central and local discipline inspection committees. Since their establishment, these discipline inspection committees have, guided by the Central Committee and local committees of the Party, investigated and dealt with a large number of cases in which Party members violated law and discipline, cleared out some incorrigible elements from the Party and punished a number of Party members who had committed serious mistakes. By investigating and disposing of these cases, the Party's discipline inspection committees have played an active part in wiping out bourgeois ideology within the Party, strengthening Party discipline, purifying and consolidating Party organization, and guaranteeing the correct execution of the Party's line and policy.

(2) Now that our country is carrying out socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, the complex and acute class struggle in society is continuously reflected in all its aspects in the life of the Party. At the same time, in a number

of Party organizations the situation has arisen where ideological and political work is neglected as a result of pressure of work in guiding economic work and other specialized affairs. Consequently, undesirable elements who made their way into the Party have taken advantage of this to pursue their activities. A number of unstable Party members have degenerated because of the corroding effect of bourgeois ideology; this has resulted in cases of corruption, degeneracy and violations of law and discipline; and in the recent serious case of the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih conspiring to split the Party and usurp supreme power in the Party and the state. In face of this situation, Party organizations at all levels must intensify ideological and political work and the struggle against subversive activities of the class enemy and unwholesome trends within the Party; they must strengthen Party discipline. Now that the organization and powers and functions of the Party's discipline inspection committees are no longer suited to the task of strengthening Party discipline in the new period of class struggle, the National Conference of the Communist Party of China has decided to establish central and local control committees of the Party to replace the central and local discipline inspection committees. The purpose of this is to strengthen Party discipline and the struggle against all kinds of violation by Party members of law and discipline, and particularly to prevent a recurrence of so serious a case as that of the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih which gravely imperilled Party interests.

(3) The new Central Control Committee of the Party shall be elected by the present National Conference of the Party and be approved by the plenary session of the Central Committee; the local control committees of the Party (in provinces, autonomous

regions, municipalities directly under the central authority, other municipalities, autonomous *chou*, special regions, counties and autonomous counties) shall be elected by the Party congresses or conferences to be held in the near future in all localities concerned, and these shall be approved by the Party committees of the next higher levels. At each level the control committees of the Party shall work under the direction of the Party committees of that level.

(4) The central and local control committees shall have the task of regularly checking and dealing with cases of violation by Party members of the Party constitution and discipline and state laws and decrees. As for violations of the laws and decrees of the state, Party members, in addition to being examined by the people's court in accordance with law or punished by the government control organization, shall be dealt with by the Party control committees if Party disciplinary measures need to be taken against them.

The central and local control committees of the Party shall have the right to check and deal with all Party members for cases of violation of the Party constitution and discipline and the laws and decrees of the state. Violations of the Party constitution and discipline and state laws and decrees committed by members of Party committees of various levels shall be dealt with by the Party committees of the same level; but a Party control committee of a higher level shall have the right to deal with them directly where it considers this necessary.

When a check is made on a member of a Party committee of a higher or the same level, or when a comrade whose name appears on the roll of comrades as one occupying a post under the control of the Party committee of a higher or the same level is punished either by removing him from office or by the infliction

of some more drastic punishment, in such cases the local control committees should ask the consent of the Party committee of the higher or same level. If a local control committee considers a decision of a Party committee of the same level inappropriate it shall have the right of appeal to a Party committee of a higher level.

The central and local Party control committees shall have the right to check on violations, by Party organizations of a lower level, of the Party constitution and discipline and state laws and decrees and to suggest to Party committees of that level how to deal with such cases.

(5) With regard to any case of violation by a Party member of the Party constitution and discipline or state laws and decrees, the Party committee should pass the case on to the central control committee or local control committee at the appropriate level for unified handling; except where the case involves a member of a Party committee of the same level, and where, according to the Party constitution, the case should be handled by the district committee or the branch of the Party. County, city and higher Party committees must constantly guide and support the Party control committees in carrying out a constant resolute struggle against all Party members who violate the Party constitution and discipline and state laws and decrees.

(6) Higher control committees of the Party have the right to examine the work of the lower control committees; and the right to examine, approve and change decisions on cases made by lower control committees. Lower control committees of the Party should report their work to the higher control committees and honestly report all violations of discipline by Party members and Party organizations.

Party members have the obligation to report to the Party control committees all violations of laws and discipline by Party members of which they have knowledge and to assist the Party control committees in dealing with Party members who violate the Party constitution and discipline and state laws and decrees.

(7) The central and local control committees of the Party shall work in close co-ordination with the procuratorial organs of the state and the control organs of the government at every level, so as to enable the supervisory organs of the Party and the state to play a fully effective role.

The central and local control committees of the Party at every level shall maintain regular contacts with the organizations of the trade unions, Youth League, and women's federation and the supervisory boards of the co-operatives at every level, and other mass organizations. In their work they should rely on these organizations to keep contact with the broad masses.

(8) The central and local control committees of the Party shall set up offices, begin regular work and work out rules of procedure.

All working personnel of the control committees of the Party must be faithful in fulfilling their duties, serious, responsible and realistic in doing the work, exemplary in obeying the Party constitution and discipline and the state laws and decrees, resolute in the struggle against undesirable elements and evil influences, and be correct in their attitude when examining and dealing with cases.

Appendices

CARRY OUT THE PARTY RESOLUTIONS

Editorial in the "People's Daily," April 5, 1955

The National Conference of the Communist Party of China, which was held between March 21 and 31, 1955, is of tremendous significance to the cause of China's socialist construction and socialist transformation in the period of transition.

This conference put forward the Draft First Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy and adopted a resolution concerning this draft plan. It discussed the crimes of the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih and adopted a resolution regarding it. It resolved that Kao Kang, ringleader of the anti-Party conspiracy and incorrigible renegade, and Jao Shu-shih, the other ringleader of the anti-Party conspiracy, be expelled from the Party and removed from all posts they held both inside and outside the Party. The conference also adopted a resolution on the establishment of the Party central and local control committees, and elected the Central Control Committee.

The various resolutions passed by the conference will undoubtedly have a very positive effect on the life of our Party and state. This conference made full use of the method of criticism and self-criticism, brought to light many shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the Party and state and showed the way to overcome them.

The Party as a whole has achieved still greater

ideological unity and, on this basis, the solidarity and unity of the Party has become stronger. This is of decisive significance for the cause of the Party, and particularly for the successful carrying out of the general line of policy of the Party in the transition period.

In 1952 the Central Committee of the Party put forward the general line of policy of the Party for the period of transition and, following its acceptance in 1954 by the National People's Congress and its inclusion in China's Constitution, the carrying out of that general line has become the fundamental task of the country in its transition period. Because reliance was placed on the efforts of all Party members and the Chinese people as a whole, all important policies and measures adopted by our Party and government have been and are being carried out quite smoothly in every sphere and have yielded very great results.

But it is no easy task to build socialism in so big a country as China with such complex conditions, starting from so backward a national economy.

It probably requires three five-year plans to build a socialist society, but to build a powerful, highly industrialized socialist country requires decades of arduous effort, possibly fifty years, or the whole second half of this century.

Our historic task is arduous, and to that extent precisely, our cause is great and glorious. All Party comrades and the entire people must work with redoubled effort and take resolute, concerted action for the steady development of our national economy and the accomplishment of the fundamental task of the transition period.

The First Five-Year Plan to develop China's national economy is a vital step in the carrying out of the fundamental task of the transition period. In

fact this plan has already been in operation for more than two years. We have accumulated much experience, and this gives us greater confidence in guiding large-scale, planned national economic construction. Is it too late to decide on the First Five-Year Plan after it has already been in operation for two years? No. Economically, China is a backward agricultural country with uninvestigated resources, a low level of technique and with, at present, many forms of economy existing side by side. These are objective difficulties for the drawing up of an economic plan. A subjective difficulty is the fact that the Party has never had experience in drawing up a long-term construction plan. Soon after the founding of the People's Republic, it became engaged in the war to resist American aggression and to aid Korea, and that is why previously there was nothing for it but to draw up the plan while going ahead with the work of construction.

In fact, it began to draw up the plan in the spring of 1951. Planned construction actually began in 1953.

The Party has now two years of practical experience, and this makes it possible for the whole five-year plan to be worked out in a more practical way. This is not a bad thing for China's planned construction.

Taking account of practical experience gained during the period of economic recovery and in economic construction undertaken during the last two years or so, the National Conference of the Party thoroughly discussed the draft of the First Five-Year Plan. It adopted a resolution that the Central Committee of the Party should make further revisions as necessary to the draft plan, and then submit it to the second session of the First National People's Congress for

examination and adoption as a state plan. This is just as it should be.

The basic task of the First Five-Year Plan is to lay the preliminary groundwork on which the fundamental task of our country in its period of transition can be completed. That means, the First Five-Year Plan will take China a great step forward in the gradual realization of socialist industrialization, and gradual completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce.

While the First Five-Year Plan is under way, there will be considerable developments in all fields, including industry, agriculture, communications and transport, municipal construction, commerce, culture and education. But the emphasis has to be laid on heavy industry.

It is true that our agriculture is backward, that the supply of food and industrial crops lags far behind the needs of our country, and that they must be greatly developed. Rail and other transport is also inadequate and needs expansion. But there is a limit to the funds we can use on the Five-Year Plan, and an even distribution of those funds would lead us nowhere. The giving of priority to the development of heavy industry will itself be a key factor in extricating agriculture, transport and other parts of our economy from their backwardness, expanding light industry, and improving the life of the people.

Again, with the international situation as it is at present, it is especially true that we should develop heavy industry in order to strengthen our national defences, liberate Taiwan, beat off imperialist aggression, and safeguard our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

For this purpose the people of our whole country

must be mobilized. They must put hard work and initiative into every kind of job; they must raise output, practise the strictest economy, and work in close co-operation with one another so as to fulfil, and overfulfil, the First Five-Year Plan.

When the various aspects of construction envisaged in the plan are complete, China will have an electricity supply, a coal-mining and an oil industry, each with a capacity double or more what she has at present. We shall have a mighty modern iron and steel industry, a non-ferrous metals industry, and a basic chemical industry. We shall be able to turn out great metal-cutting lathes, power, metaliurgical and mining equipment, and we shall be able to produce motor vehicles, tractors and aeroplanes in great quantities.

By that time gigantic factories, the likes of which we never had before, will be seen rising over our vast territory, new railways running and many afforestation and water conservancy schemes complete. There will be a tremendous expansion of our productive capacity. New industrial bases will appear in the hinterland of our country, and the characteristics of our economy will be greatly changed. The First Five-Year Plan is a great plan of construction which will lead our country towards socialism, make it rich and powerful, and bring our people a happy life.

Our Party today is giving the mass of working people a lead in the struggle to fulfil this plan, to turn our land into a great socialist country. It is a revolution, and a revolution which is more far-reaching, which is on a broader scale than the new-democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, a revolution which will result in the elimination of all forms of exploitation in China. That means that intense class struggle will be inevitable.

As early as February 1954, the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of our Party gave the following warning to everyone, both within and outside the Party:

"In this struggle, foreign imperialism, on the one hand, will not sit idly by and simply watch us; and on the other hand, those classes within the country which have already been overthrown will not willingly reconcile themselves to extinction, while those classes that are to be eliminated will not give up without resistance. Inveterate counter-revolutionary elements among them will undoubtedly conspire with foreign imperialism and take every opportunity to sabotage the cause of the Party and the people in an attempt to defeat the revolutionary cause and restore reactionary rule in China. First and foremost among the main methods adopted by the imperialists and counter-revolutionaries to sabotage our cause is the effort to undermine the unity of the Party and to look for agents within our Party."

The conspiracy of the anti-Party bloc of the individualist-careerists Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, which was exposed before and after the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party, is a concentrated expression within our Party of this acute class struggle in China.

The facts prove that Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, the ringleaders of this anti-Party conspiracy, and their followers, persistently carried out acts of treachery and formed secret factions. They sowed dissension and spread anti-Party propaganda everywhere in a planned and systematic way. At the same time they lied consistently within the Party organization and at Party meetings. Their despicable activities are identical with those usually pursued by the landlord class and the bourgeoisie in the past. Concealing their

activities from the Central Committee of the Party, this treacherous anti-Party bloc did its utmost to slander our Party, and slanderously distort the history of our Party and slander our People's Liberation Army. Their criminal purpose was to split our Party by their underhand activities, usurp supreme authority in the Party and the state, and thereby pave the way for the restoration of counter-revolutionary rule. They became, in fact, agents of imperialism and the bourgeoisie within our Party.

But our Party is closely united. The enemy and anti-Party elements were unable to carry through their evil conspiracies. Our whole Party, under the unified leadership of the Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, unmasked in good time and smashed this enemy plot. A great victory was won in the struggle against the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih. Once again this proves that our Party, founded on the theoretical and organizational principles of Marxism-Leninism, is mighty and invincible and is well able to liquidate conspirators and traitors within its ranks and so rally and unite its strength to achieve the complete victory of the working-class revolution.

In the course of its history, our Party has more than once defeated traitors and anti-Party elements. The struggles against the traitorous Chen Tu-hsiu elements in 1927 and against the renegade Chang Kuo-tao in 1935 both took place at periods of drastic change in class relationships and of very intense class struggle. Success in these struggles enabled the Party to defeat the attacks of the class enemy at crucial moments in the development of the revolution and thus ensure the victorious advance of the revolution.

Now our Party has smashed the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih. Victory in this

struggle has united and consolidated our Party as never before. This is another decisive victory in the course of the development of our Party. It is an important assurance that the socialist cause of our people will advance smoothly.

In view of the urgent importance of strengthening discipline within the Party under the present conditions of the period of transition when the class struggle is acute, the National Conference of the Party passed a resolution establishing central and local control committees. The Central Control Committee has already been elected. These committees are designed to intensify the struggle against violations of law and discipline on the part of Party members and, in particular, to prevent the recurrence of such phenomena as the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih which seriously damage the interests of the Party.

It is the sacred duty of Party members and Party organizations at every level to serve the people wholeheartedly and work earnestly for our great, long-term ideal of communism. Our Party encourages every member to make full use of and continually improve his knowledge and talents; but, at the same time, through its special organizations, it must strictly and systematically supervise the work of every Party member. Unless there is such supervision, both from above and below, even a good Party member may make serious mistakes and degenerate.

The foreign imperialists and internal counterrevolutionaries keep a constant, secret watch on us. They know very well that the most effective way of wrecking the achievements of the Chinese people is to deal a blow first against the leading force of the people and the Chinese working class, that is, against the Chinese Communist Party. They know very well

that a fortress is taken most easily from within. They are constantly trying to make use of the most vacillating and unreliable elements in our Party as tools for creating division and planting the seeds of corruption in the Party, so that they can the more easily realize their scheme of restoring counter-revolutionary rule. The whole Party must therefore be vigilant, learn the lesson of past events, and strive to strengthen to the utmost the supervisory activities of the Party.

To us Communists, Party supervision means to ensure the thorough implementation of the Party line, policy, constitution and discipline as well as of the state's laws and decrees; it means the strengthening of ties between the Party and the masses and the correction of errors in good time.

Strengthened supervision by the Party will effectively counteract the individualist tendencies and the conceit and self-complacency which are the mortal foe of every Party member.

We know that we shall certainly come up against difficulties in our advance. We are still surrounded by imperialist influences, and we must be ready to cope with all sudden eventualities. Inside the country, the counter-revolutionaries are waiting for a chance to attack us; perhaps we shall meet with even greater difficulties than those we overcame in the past. Thus it behooves every Party member, and especially those in responsible positions, to rid themselves of all conceit and selfishness, to place their reliance on the wisdom and strength of the masses and on the Party as a whole, to strive with prudence and confidence to overcome all difficulties, and fight for the great victory of socialism.

Our Party and each individual member of it bear a greater responsibility in this socialist revolution

which is being carried out in an Eastern country with a population of six hundred million. However, there is no doubt that with unity in the Party, the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and close reliance on the working class and on the broad masses of the people, we can carry out the general line of the Party in the period of transition and complete our tasks in the revolution and in national construction.

We represent a force that is newly rising. Such a force is always invincible. All that is outworn is bound to be swept away. We have already achieved great successes. Still greater successes will certainly be ours. Let us, then, Party comrades and people throughout the nation, march forward courageously, with still greater confidence, to carry out the general line of the Party in the period of transition!

THE BASIC TASK OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Editorial in the "People's Daily," April 7, 1955

The Draft First Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy, which was put forward at the National Conference of the Communist Party of China, lays down specific tasks connected with development of the national economy during the period 1953-1957. This is a programme of decisive importance; by means of it the Communist Party leads the Chinese people in the struggle for realization of the fundamental task of the period of transition to socialism. This great plan is leading our country onwards to socialism, making it prosperous, rich and strong, and bringing happiness to our people.

When some minor details of the Plan which remain to be revised are dealt with, it will be submitted for examination and adoption to the Second Session of the First National People's Congress to be held sometime later this year. The general outline of the Plan has, however, already been settled, and it has been in operation for two years.

The basic task of the First Five-Year Plan may be summed up as follows: We must centre our main efforts on industrial construction; this comprises 694 above-norm[1] (in terms of capital investment) con-

[1]To facilitate management and control of major capital construction projects, the state has, in the light of actual conditions in China, set an "investment norm" for every category of

struction projects, the core of which are the 156 projects which the Soviet Union is helping us to design, and which will lay the preliminary groundwork for China's socialist industrialization; we must foster the growth of agricultural producers' co-operatives whose system of ownership is partially collective, and handicraft producers' co-operatives, laying the preliminary groundwork for the socialist transformation of agriculture and handicrafts; we must incorporate the major part of capitalist industry and commerce into various forms of state capitalism, laying the groundwork for the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce.

This means that the basic task of the Five-Year Plan has two aspects: socialist industrialization and socialist transformation of the non-socialist sector of the national economy. Our primary task in laying the preliminary groundwork for China's socialist industrialization is to swiftly build and expand the power, coal-mining and petroleum industries and modern iron and steel, non-ferrous metals and basic

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capital construction. Any construction project, whether it is new, rebuilt or restored, is classified as "above-norm" or "below-norm" according to whether its invested capital is above or below the "normal" figure. In industry, for example, the investment norm for the iron and steel, motor vehicle, tractor, shipbuilding, and locomotive and rolling stock manufacturing industries is ten million yuan. For the non-ferrous metals, chemical and cement industries it is six million yuan. For power stations, power transmission lines and substations, the coal-mining, oil extracting, oil refining, machine-building (not including communications equipment) industries, motor vehicle and ship maintenance works, and textiles (including printing and dyeing) it is five million yuan. For the rubber, paper-manufacturing, sugar-refining, cigarette-making and pharmaceutical industries it is four million yuan. For the ceramics, food-processing (except for sugar-refining) and other light industries it is three million yuan.

chemical industries, and to establish a machine-building industry able to manufacture large machine tools, power equipment, metallurgical and mining machinery, motor vehicles and aeroplanes. In short, to undertake industrial capital construction with the main emphasis on heavy industry. The reason is that only by establishing a heavy industry in the first place can we raise China's national economy with its extremely backward technique on to a modern level of technique; only on this basis can we transform the face of our old national economy.

As we develop heavy industry, we must see to it that the textile and other light industries, and the new medium- and small-sized industrial enterprises which serve agriculture, are developed adequately to meet the growing demands of the urban and rural population and the increasing need for means of agricultural production. We must also ensure the adequate growth of transport and communications: railways, highways, inland navigation and sea transport, as well as extend posts and tele-communications.

Investments in capital construction constitute a very large proportion of total outlay for the country's economic construction under the Draft Five-Year Plan. In industry, for instance, in addition to the 694 above-norm construction projects, there are over 2,000 below-norm projects. It is not difficult to comprehend the magnificent scale of our construction and how difficult and glorious is the task confronting us. Yet we have mentioned only part of the industrial plan. While we undertake this new industrial construction we must make fuller and more rational use of existing industrial establishments (including local industrial enterprises) and bring their production potential into full play. During the period of the First Five-Year

Plan, we must rely mainly on existing enterprises to fulfil the tasks of heavy and light industry. It is utterly misguided to treat the productive capacity of existing enterprises with contempt—this is an idea which must be got rid of.

Another aspect of the basic task of the First Five-Year Plan is to carry through actively and yet surely the socialist transformation of the economy of individual peasants, handicraftsmen and capitalists. At the present time, small-peasant economy still predominates in our country's agriculture; and capitalist concerns make up a considerable proportion of the national economy. As is well-known, small-peasant production shackles agricultural productivity and is therefore unable to meet the tremendous demands made on agriculture by socialist industrialization. In daily practice we see too how capitalist relations of production hinder the growth of productivity. The anarchy of capitalism conflicts with the planned development of socialist economy. That is why ownership by the whole people must gradually replace capitalist ownership.

In bringing about the socialist transformation of agriculture we must rely on the poor peasants (including all the new middle peasants who were poor peasants before land reform) and firmly unite with the middle peasants to extend co-operative farming, using methods of persuasion, providing good example, and giving state aid; we must organize agricultural producers' co-operatives whose system of ownership is partially collective as the principal form in carrying out the first steps in the transformation of small-peasant economy, and at the same time we must pay attention to developing the potential productive capacity of individual peasant producers.

In order step by step to overcome the lag of agri-

culture behind industry, it is necessary to introduce initial improvements in farming technique, raise yields per unit area and reclaim more and more waste land, so as to ensure a further increase in agricultural production and, in particular, the yield of grain and cotton.

As regards individual handicrafts, and small, independent transport and commercial concerns our task is to organize them gradually into various forms of co-operatives in accordance with the unified measures laid down by the state and in the light of actual conditions in the trades concerned. In this way we will enable them to serve the need of the state and society with greater efficiency.

With regard to capitalist economy, our task is to carry out correctly the policy of using, restricting and transforming capitalist industry and commerce. Wherever possible and necessary we should gradually expand joint state-private enterprises. We should improve our work in transforming capitalist industry through the following forms: the acceptance by capitalist firms of government contracts for manufacturing and processing goods, or purchase by the state of the output of capitalist enterprises. As regards commerce, we should take appropriate and progressive steps to organize private traders, according to the merits of each case, as distributers of commodities acting on a commission basis on behalf of state and co-operative commercial concerns or as retailers of commodities purchased from state and co-operative wholesalers.

Socialist industrial construction and socialist transformation cannot be achieved without effort. The building of heavy industry requires long-term investments of large amounts of capital and a constantly increasing number of technical personnel. To train such personnel in our country, we must expand higher

education, secondary technical education and scientific research, raise the level of science and technique and learn from Soviet experience. To provide capital for construction, we must continue without pause to increase industrial and agricultural production, extend the trade turnover, make great efforts to raise productivity of labour, reduce production costs and cut down unproductive expenditure. Only by increasing output and practising economy on an extensive scale can we accumulate the capital needed for national construction.

The basic task of the First Five-Year Plan as summed up above is thus clear to the entire Party and people. Fulfilment of the various tasks of the First Five-Year Plan will bring about a big rise in the total value of our country's industrial and agricultural output, in the proportion of modern industry to the total value of industrial and agricultural output and in the proportion of the output value of means of production to the value of our total industrial output. It will give our country more and more iron and steel, coal and electricity; we will be able to manufacture aeroplanes and motor vehicles. Our textile and other light industries, transport and communications, commerce and agriculture will also be further expanded. In a word, the productive capacity of industry and agriculture throughout the country will be greatly increased, and on this basis a change will be brought about in the relations between the various sectors of our national economy. There will be a marked expansion of the socialist sector while the other sectors will be reduced proportionally. That is to say, the leading role of the socialist sector of the national economy will be enhanced and the people's democratic state power led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, will be further strengthened.

The Resolution passed by the National Conference of the Communist Party of China on the Draft First Five-Year Plan declared: "Comrades throughout the Party should, under the guidance of the Central Committee, rally the masses of all nationalities in the country, work carefully and diligently to overcome difficulties, exert every effort to increase production and practise strict economy in an effort to fulfil and overfulfil this plan."

Every Communist should take positive action to respond to this call and closely unite with members of trade unions, of the Youth League, co-operatives, women's associations and other people's organizations, the various democratic parties and groups, the people of all nationalities and all patriots of our country in working for realization of this common goal.

The plan for the year 1955 is in operation; its successful implementation will be of decisive importance for carrying out the basic task of the First Five-Year Plan as a whole, therefore, we must, first and foremost, strive for its fulfilment and overfulfilment.

Workers throughout the country should raise their level of political consciousness, their professional, technical skill and their cultural level. They should give full rein to their initiative and creativeness, improve labour discipline, develop labour emulation campaigns, continually raise labour productivity and reduce costs, so that each can contribute his or her full share to realization of the state plan.

Workers and staff in state enterprises, co-operatives, and state farms should consistently, year by year, exert every effort to fulfil and overfulfil the state plan; workers and staff in joint state-private enterprises, private enterprises, members of agricultural producers' co-operatives, individual peasant producers and handicraftsmen should likewise do their

best to increase production, take an active part in the work of socialist transformation and strive for fulfilment both of the yearly plan and the Five-Year Plan as a whole.

If we are to improve our work in industry and agriculture and other economic tasks concerted efforts must be made in the spheres of education, culture, health, administration, the judiciary, foreign affairs, national defence, etc. The labour of all those engaged in such work, including the work of part of the independently working professionals, is indispensable to fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan. In accomplishing their tasks in their own spheres of work they are at the same time doing their share to help fulfil the Five-Year Plan. In order to mobilize the people in every walk of life to give of their best and co-ordinate their work, all Party organizations and government departments must further improve their work. All those working in Party and government organs must do their work more thoroughly than ever before; they must study and learn with modesty, and indefatigably examine the questions which arise in the course of economic construction. Only by so doing can they continue to help bring new, great achievements to our national construction.

Our country's First Five-Year Plan has been in operation for over two years. Generally speaking, it has been satisfactorily carried out during this period. The three years that lie ahead are the crucial period of the Plan, therefore successful completion of work in the three coming years is a pivotal point in ensuring fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan as a whole. The entire Party and people must redouble their efforts to fulfil the Plan in the three coming years, and first and foremost, fulfil and overfulfil the state plan for the year 1955.

A GREAT VICTORY FOR THE PARTY

Editorial in the "People's Daily," April 10, 1955

The Communist Party of China under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung has utterly smashed the conspiratorial activities of the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih. This is a tremendous victory for the Party and the nation in the struggle for the cause of socialism. It is a victory of decisive significance in the whole course of the Party's development.

As everybody knows, the class struggle, instead of slackening, will become increasingly complex and acute with the transition from the stage of new-democratic revolution to socialist revolution. As the Resolution on the Anti-Party Bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih passed by the National Conference of the Communist Party of China puts it: "On the one hand, the founding and growth of the People's Republic of China aroused the extreme hostility of imperialism, in the first place American imperialism; the American imperialists continue to occupy China's territory of Taiwan and are actively using Taiwan and other military bases to carry out subversive activities and prepare for a war of aggression against China. On the other hand, with the advance of the cause of socialism in our country, the remnants of counter-revolution and the reactionary bourgeois elements who are firmly opposed to the socialist transformation of our country, are accelerating their con-

spiracies for a restoration of counter-revolutionary rule."

Foreign imperialists and domestic counter-revolutionaries alike are well aware that the most effective way of attacking the Chinese people is to direct their attack in the first place against the Communist Party of China, the leading force of the Chinese people and the working class. They know that the Communist Party of China enjoys immense prestige among the working people of China and that so long as it maintains unshakable unity in its struggle for the cause of socialism every enemy attack will inevitably and utterly fail. Our enemies never cease plotting how best they can use the most unstable and unreliable elements in the Party to split, corrupt and disintegrate our Party, and so carry through to success their conspiracies to restore the rule of counter-revolution.

The American imperialists have in fact never tried to deny this. The U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, for instance, told the House Appropriations Committee on February 10: "Our hope of solving problems on the China mainland is not through attack upon the mainland but rather by actions which would promote disintegration from within."

It is not fortuitous that the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih should appear at the present stage of the class struggle. It is a sharp reflection within our Party of the intense class struggle that is now taking place in China.

The criminal aim of this anti-Party bloc was to split our Party, and overthrow the long-tested core of leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in order to seize supreme power in the Party and the state. They

resorted to conspiratorial activities to attain their aim. This was their principal hallmark and programme.

This anti-Party bloc was aware that all Party members and the people throughout the country have complete confidence in the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. If they had come out openly against the leadership of the Central Committee, their anti-Party conspiracy would at once have been exposed to the Party and people, and they would have met with certain, ignominious defeat. That is why they didn't dare publicly to bring forward any programme or principle in opposition to the Central Committee of the Party; on the contrary, on formal occasions, they were loud in professions of loyalty. Realization of their own counter-revolutionary ambitions and the needs of the imperialists and domestic counter-revolutionaries, demanded that they overthrow the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party.

What methods could they use to achieve their criminal aims? Conspiracy—the method usually adopted by the landlord class and the bourgeoisie—was their only recourse. They resorted to spreading lies and rumours, sowing dissension, winning over followers by subornation, instigating divisions among Party members and made preparations for usurping power. Theirs was an unprincipled conspiratorial clique which arose within the Party under the special conditions of the present class struggle. The purpose of their anti-Party activities was to pave the way for the restoration of counter-revolution. In fact they became agents of the capitalist class within our Party.

The Communist Party of China is the vanguard of the Chinese working class and the headquarters of the fight for socialism in China. If the Party leadership were to fall into the hands of conspirators and

renegades, if the headquarters were to be disintegrated and corrupted from within, this would certainly lead to the victory of capitalism instead of socialism, and the return of the imperialists and all the counter-revolutionary forces. At the same time, if our Party were to tolerate such acts of conspiracy and failed to deal them crushing blows, this would be tantamount to renunciation of all the political and organizational principles of the Party and lead to the extinction of the Party itself. It is not open to doubt that if it is to guide the masses in their struggle for the great cause of socialism, our Party must wage a relentless fight against the class enemies outside the Party and, first of all, against those class enemies who have wormed their way into the Party. This is exactly what the Party does. Since the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee up to the present National Conference of the Party, the whole Party, under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has exposed the conspiracy of the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, and completely crushed it.

In the course of its development, our Party has won many victories over renegades and anti-Party elements. In 1927, the Party waged a struggle against the renegade Chen Tu-hsiu-ites, and subsequently swept them out of the Party. As a result, despite the grave situation which arose following the failure of the First Revolutionary Civil War, it was able to enter a new phase of struggle successfully, with the establishment of revolutionary bases in rural areas. During the Long March of the Red Army in 1935, the Party crushed the treacherous attempt of Chang Kuo-tao to split the Party; it was then able to complete the Long March successfully and stand prepared when the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression began.

The victory won in the struggle against the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih once again proves that our Party is a strong, invincible Party built on the ideological and organizational principles of Marxism-Leninism. It also proves that our Party is fully able to clear conspirators and traitors out of its ranks and in unity and solidarity gain the complete victory of the working-class revolution.

Our Party is now rallied more firmly than ever before around its Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung; the militant strength of our Party, too, is greater than at any previous period. This is a basic assurance given the Chinese people that victory will be theirs in the fight to defeat all internal and external enemies and complete the tasks of socialist construction and transformation.

We must not, however, think that everything must be going well now that the struggle against the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih has been won. As the resolution on this anti-Party bloc puts it, "The struggle to consolidate the solidarity and unity of the Party, and to uncover and smash in time the activities of alien class elements to corrupt and split the Party, is a long-term one. So long as the class struggle continues to exist domestically and internationally, class enemies will not stop trying to sway unstable and unreliable elements in our Party, and there are apt to be unstable and unreliable elements in our Party who will come under their influence. Incidents similar to that of the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih may occur in the future." It is for this reason that it has become the urgent political task of the whole Party to sum up the experience of the struggle and to draw lessons from it.

The first basic lesson we must learn from this struggle is that all Party comrades must bear in mind

the fact that our class enemies are constantly plotting against us, and we must be ready to fight at all times to protect the interests of the Party and the state. Every Party member must strictly observe the Party constitution and discipline. He must resolutely carry out the various decisions of the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party on strengthening Party solidarity and unity, and opposing any statements or acts endangering that solidarity and unity. We should specially bear in mind that all controversies in the Party must be carried out openly and legitimately within the Party organizations and that all factional, splitting and conspiratorial activities are strictly forbidden. Our Party demands that every one of its members faithfully carry out its decisions and directives; at the same time it permits differences of opinion being discussed at Party meetings in order to sift the true from the false and reach correct conclusions. The Party strictly forbids such conspiratorial activities as those Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih resorted to in secretly opposing this or that person behind the back of the Party organization. Such activities violate Party discipline, damage Party unity and therefore are bound to be directed against the Party as a whole.

Certain comrades who had heard Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih's anti-Party slanders failed to take them to task, nor did they warn them to put their views formally to the Party organization. They also failed to report this to the Party. Such liberal attitudes are completely wrong and can only help the enemies of the Party. All Party comrades therefore should not only themselves avoid statements or acts which endanger Party unity but should wage a struggle against all who do so and report this in good time to the Party. Only so can the Party stop up all the loopholes which

anti-Party elements can take advantage of and make it impossible for any enemy to wreck from within the great cause of socialism of our Party and of the people.

The second basic lesson is that we must conscientiously overcome conceit and complacency and firmly oppose any tendencies to individualism and worship of individuals.

The Resolution on Strengthening Party Unity adopted by the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee stated: "Since the victory of China's new-democratic revolution, there has grown up among some of the cadres within the Party a most dangerous kind of self-conceit. They become dizzy with certain achievements they have made in their work, forgetting the modest attitude and spirit of self-criticism which should animate a Communist Party member. They exaggerate the role of the individual and emphasize individual prestige. They think there is no one equal to them in the whole wide world. They listen only to flattery and praise from others, but cannot accept others' criticism and supervision; they suppress and revenge themselves against those who criticize them. They even regard the region or department under their leadership as their personal property or independent kingdom."

It must be pointed out that the reason why Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih and their ilk took the anti-Party road is inseparably bound up with their inveterately bad tendencies of conceit and complacency in their work, unwillingness to see their own shortcomings and mistakes, or to be criticized and supervised. At the same time it should be pointed out that those comrades who were used by Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih as tools in their anti-Party activity fell into this role precisely because they were preoccupied with personal

losses and gains, fame and position, and because they were obsessed by individualist tendencies, putting their own interests above the interests of the Party, as well as by the idea of worshipping the individual above the collective. Conceit, complacency, a tendency to individualism and worship of individuals are bound to weaken the spirit of respect for Party principle, make people relax their vigilance towards things that are detrimental to the Party and give anti-Party elements and counter-revolutionaries an opportunity of penetrating our positions and making trouble. This is a lesson that every Party comrade must take to heart.

The third basic lesson is that our Party must exercise strict, constant and systematic organizational supervision over the work of every Party member, the most responsible members not excluded. Our Party encourages every member to constantly develop and give full rein to their abilities and intelligence. Party supervision is not to dampen the revolutionary activity but to ensure its correct development. Without supervision both from above and below, a good Party member may commit grave errors and even degenerate.

We Communists must observe the principle of honestly and sincerely subjecting one's work to supervision of the Party organization and not placing oneself above it.

Party committees at all levels must conscientiously carry out the principle of collective leadership and continue to fight against both the tendency towards personal dictatorship and factionalism. Our Party must diligently perfect operation of various necessary systems: it must set up and strengthen, first of all, the system of inspection and examination by the central authority of local organizations throughout the country, and by superior organizations of subordinate ones, it must introduce the system whereby departments in

charge of cadres are responsible at the same time for checking their practical work, so as to ensure that every Communist Party member works under Party's supervision. At the same time, control committees should be set up at all levels without delay in accordance with the resolution passed by the National Conference of the Communist Party of China on the establishment of central and local Party control committees. This will make it possible to examine systematically and handle cases of law-breaking or violation of discipline by cadres who are Party members or by Party organizations and wage a regular and determined struggle against evil-doers and acts which violate the Party constitution and discipline, or state laws and decrees.

The fourth basic lesson is that the Party must intensify education in Marxist-Leninist and communist ideology within the Party, improve its ideological-political work and carry on a ceaseless and systematic struggle against all shades of bourgeois ideas that tend to corrode our Party. Every Party member must strive to raise his level of understanding of Marxism-Leninism, and sharpen his communist vigilance so that he is able quickly to distinguish what is Marxist and revolutionary and what is anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary, and know how to reinforce the former and strike against the latter. The Party must, at the same time as the systematic transformation of capitalist industry and commerce is being carried out on the economic front, systematically criticize and overcome the influence of bourgeois ideas on the ideological front. The Party demands that all members who can do so, should systematically and diligently study the theories of Marxism-Leninism, dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Only by so doing can our Party organize a mighty theoretical army which

marches in step and is armed with powerful weapons, an army which will uphold the cause of socialist revolution and Party unity on the ideological front, and carry on an effective struggle against every shade of reactionary bourgeois ideology.

The crushing of the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih at a crucial moment of the socialist revolution in our country is an historic victory for our Party and the Chinese people. All Party members should draw a thorough lesson from this case, and unceasingly strengthen the Party, forge stronger the links between the Party and the masses and intensify the struggle against imperialists and counter-revolutionaries. In this way, the Chinese people, under the strong and effective leadership of our Party, will assuredly win complete victory in the socialist revolution.

MOBILIZE THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE AGAINST EVIL-DOERS AND THEIR DEEDS

Editorial in the "People's Daily," April 14, 1955

The work of strengthening Party discipline, and of searchingly investigating and dealing with violations of Party discipline by Party members, is a vital political task. It is a struggle between proletarian ideology on the one hand and bourgeois and other non-proletarian ideologies on the other and provides a necessary condition for strengthening the unity of will and action of the Party and ensuring closer relations between the Party and the masses.

Lenin says: "Whoever weakens ever so little the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during the time of its dictatorship), actually aids the bourgeoisie against the proletariat."[1] This principle is fully applicable in the People's Republic of China under the people's democratic dictatorship.

The National Conference of the Communist Party of China has decided to establish central and local control committees of the Party to replace the central and local discipline inspection committees. This decision is designed to strengthen Party discipline and intensify the struggle against any viola-

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[1] V. I. Lenin, *"Left-wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder* (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Two-vol. ed., Vol. II, Part 2, p. 367, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1952).

tion of laws or discipline by Party members and particularly to prevent a recurrence of so serious a case as that of the anti-Party bloc of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih which gravely imperilled Party interests. Such a decision is necessary and timely.

The Party's National Conference points out in its resolution that foreign imperialists and internal counter-revolutionaries alike know very well that the most effective way of attacking the Chinese people is to deal a blow first against the guiding force of the Chinese people and the working class, that is, against the Chinese Communist Party. That is why they are ceaselessly seeking every opportunity to attack our Party openly or covertly. It is under such conditions of class struggle that a number of unstable and unreliable Party members, unable to withstand the corroding effects of bourgeois ideology, have violated laws or discipline or have even degenerated. Some of these cases have been exposed and dealt with, but there are many more which have not yet been exposed; there are also other cases which have been exposed but have not yet been dealt with in good time and with due seriousness. Further toleration of such a state of affairs can only benefit the enemies of the Party and the people and harm the people's democratic dictatorship and the cause of socialism.

A thorough and effective struggle against these evil-doers and their deeds, means reliance not only on strengthening the political and organizational work of the Party and government organizations in general, but also on strengthening the special supervisory organizations of the Party and the state; it means relying not only on the common efforts of all Party members, but also on those of all active elements among the people throughout the country.

The Party's control committees are supervisory

organs whose special function is to fight evil-doers and their deeds within the Party. According to the resolution of the National Conference of the Party, control committees at every level shall work under the direction of Party committees of the corresponding level. Central and local control committees shall have the right to investigate and deal with any Party member in cases involving violation of the Party constitution and discipline or state laws and decrees. Such violations by members of Party committees at any level shall be dealt with by the Party committees of the corresponding level; but a Party control committee of a higher level shall have the right to deal with such cases directly whenever it considers this necessary. When a check is made on a member of a Party committee of a higher or the same level, or when a comrade whose name appears on the roll of comrades as occupying a post under the control of the Party committee of a higher or the same level is to be punished either by being removed from office or by infliction of some more drastic punishment, then the local control committee should seek confirmation of its action from the Party committee of the same or a higher level. If a local control committee considers inappropriate a decision of a Party committee of the same level, it shall have the right of appeal to a Party committee of a higher level.

It can be seen, therefore, that the Party's control committees have been given much wider powers than the former discipline inspection committees. The latter were entirely under the control of the Party committees of the same level, having no right to inquire directly into the work of the discipline inspection committees under the Party committees of a lower level. It follows that, if a Party committee treats the maintenance of Party discipline as a matter of im-

portance and sets a good example in the strict observance of discipline, then the discipline inspection committee under such a Party committee can function comparatively well; otherwise, it will not find its work so easy.

The former discipline inspection committee of the Northeast Bureau of the Party's Central Committee is a case in point. This inspection committee was under the direction of Kao Kang, ringleader of the anti-Party bloc. His followers Chang Hsiu-shan, Chen Po-tsun, and Kuo Feng held concurrent positions as secretary and deputy secretaries of the same committee respectively. Because of this, the committee could not check on Kao Kang's anti-Party activities and could not work according to Party principles.

To cite another instance. Hsiang Ming, acting secretary of the Shantung Sub-Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, not only impudently restricted the work of the discipline inspection committee of that Sub-Bureau, but "drove out of Shantung" the personnel sent by the Central Discipline Inspection Committee of the Party. These examples clearly show the need to establish control committees to replace the discipline inspection committees.

In this fight against evil-doers and their deeds, the Party's control committees should not rely solely upon a small number of functionaries who, no matter how hard they work, can only make a limited contribution. They should work in close co-ordination with the procuratorial organs of the state and the control organs of the government. They should, in addition, encourage all Party members and all patriotic citizens to show initiative in this struggle. The old discipline inspection committees were organized on a very narrow basis; they lacked open and direct contact with the broad masses inside and outside the Party. This was one of

the reasons for their limited scope of action. The Party's resolution to establish the control committees provides that "Party members have the obligation to report to the Party control committees all violations of laws and discipline by Party members of which they have knowledge and to assist the Party control committees in dealing with Party members who violate the Party constitution and discipline and state laws and decrees." It further provides that "the central and local control committees of the Party at every level shall maintain regular contacts with the organizations of the trade unions, Youth League, and women's federation and the supervisory boards of the co-operatives at every level, and other mass organizations. In their work they should rely on these organizations to keep contact with the broad masses." These provisions create favourable conditions for mobilizing the masses inside and outside the Party in the struggle against evil-doers and their deeds.

In order to expose wrongdoers and deal effectively with them in good time, we must stress the importance of encouraging the masses to bring charges against them. Bad elements do not conveniently brand themselves "Bad Elements" for all to see. They resort to all kinds of tricks to cover up their crimes. A check made only from the top down will not always reveal or fully reveal their true face. But as the saying goes, "If you do not want others to know what you're up to, the only way is not to be up to anything yourself." An evil act inevitably harms somebody, and someone will surely come to know of it. We need only give broad encouragement and real protection to accusers from retaliation by the accused, to get charges brought up from below. Evil-doers will then find they have no place to escape to, or they will be prevented in time from committing their crimes.

We all know the cases of Huang Yi-feng, former Head of the Department of Communications in the East China Military and Administrative Committee and concurrently Head of the Communications School, and Wang Chen-hai, former secretary of Regional Party Committee of Tinghsien County, Hopei Province. They were both punished as a result of charges brought against them. Chang Pao-tung, a Party member in the Taiyuan Iron and Steel Works, charged Wang Tse-sheng, secretary of the Party branch in the coking department there, with making false reports on his work. Han Chang-hsin, a worker in the rolling mill of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, charged Kang Chao-wen, deputy secretary of the Party general branch of the same mill, with stealing his, Han's, rationalization proposal. Despite delays and obstacles, the accusers persisted in their fight and finally won their cases. These instances show that the time when "evil-doers are in power while good people suffer" is gone forever. Article 97 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China states: "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right to bring complaints against any person working in organs of state for transgression of law or neglect of duty by making a written or verbal statement to any organ of state at any level. People suffering loss by reason of infringement by persons working in organs of state of their rights as citizens have the right to compensation." The resolution of the Party's National Conference on the establishment of Party control committees similarly gives great encouragement to active elements inside and outside the Party in bringing charges against evil-doers; it serves a stern warning to those bad elements who continue their wrongdoing.

Certain persons object to charges being brought against them by the masses. They sometimes defend

themselves by twisted logic; more often they use every kind of vile method to attack and incriminate their accusers, or pigeonhole charges to nullify their practical effect. It is correct to say that whoever objects to charges brought by the masses is a wrongdoer. For, if you have done no wrong why should you be afraid to face charges and why should you attack your accusers? A popular saying goes: "A man with a guilty conscience gets nervous when he hears a knock at the door in the middle of the night." It is possible that certain facts may not be well founded when charges are brought by the masses. It is even possible that false charges are made because of personal grudges. But that is no reason to be afraid of these things. After due investigation the truth will out as inevitably as rocks appear at ebb-tide. He who has done no wrong need not be afraid of being misunderstood for the time being. Facts have proved that in the past there have been very few cases of false charges being brought by the masses inside or outside the Party, but many cases of accusers being attacked. Are these facts not quite enough to explain why it is urgently necessary today to give every support and protection to those who bring charges inside and outside the Party and to rebuff and restrain those bad elements who attack their accusers?

The establishment of the Party control committees signifies that Party discipline must and will be strengthened, but it does not mean that it has already been strengthened. A serious struggle is needed to turn this directive of the Party into a living reality. All working personnel of the control committees of the Party who are responsible for supervising how the Party's directive is carried out must, as they are instructed in the Party Conference's resolution, be faithful in fulfilling their duties, serious, responsible and realistic in doing their work, exemplary in obeying the

Party constitution and discipline and the state laws and decrees, resolute in the struggle against wrongdoers and their deeds and strictly examine and deal with every case that requires investigation.

The Party's discipline inspection committees have had important accomplishments to their credit in the past few years, but they also had defects and made mistakes. These defects and mistakes were due to the limitations of function and organization described above, or to selection of unsuitable personnel; they must also be attributed to the small number of persons responsible for discipline inspection work. Because they take account of their personal interests, hesitate to offend others or are afraid of inviting retaliation, some comrades cannot wage a resolute and correctly directed fight against evil-doers and their deeds. This must be considered a dereliction of duty. Then there are, of course, individual personnel who are one-sided in their views, are partial and self-assertive and draw conclusions haphazardly before making careful and thorough investigations and study. As a result of such attitudes, cases have occurred when the punishment meted out to certain Party member or members concerned is too severe or completely unjustified. Such a state of affairs should not be permitted either. As representatives of the Party, personnel of the Party's control committees must be absolutely just and fair and must honestly and realistically examine and handle every case of violation of laws or discipline by Party members. Only so will Party discipline be really strengthened.